

Who Are the Congressional Antiwar Candidates?

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Stuck with Bigness

If the long-haired radical on the soap-box charges that 100 big firms own a third of American factories, step up to him boldly. Throw out your chest. Pretend you are Frank Merriwell.

"Sir," tell him with icy politeness, "your supposed 'facts' are in error. The truth is, Sir, that the top 100 firms own not *one-third* of all assets used in manufacturing, but *one-half*."

While the startled crowd titters, pin a small American flag on his chest; he will stammer out something like, "Where'd ya get that stuff?"

"That 'stuff,' Sir, as you call it," tell him with the quiet certitude of Spiro Agnew, "comes from a new study analyzing American capitalism, *The American Corporation* (Dutton), by Richard Barber, erstwhile of the Yale Law School and formerly counsel of the Senate Anti-trust Subcommittee. It's authentic.

"It's an Establishment book, Sir, that thinks the partnership of business and government is not merely inevitable but good. In this there's an echo of Ken Galbraith. In a word, Sir, he says the anti-trust laws haven't restrained Bigness, can't restrain Bigness, and that we're stuck with Bigness."

"Aw, c'mon," pleads your discomforted opponent, "leave this soapbox to a professional!"

Disregard him.

"The indisputable fact is that the top 100 firms own a half of all manufacturing assets," you tell the rapt crowd, "and if you make it the top 200 firms they now control almost 60 percent, and it's growing. Only 20 years ago the figure was 50 per cent."

"You're nuts," marks your adversary.

"Na then, na then!" says the cop, "who's creating this disturbance?"

"Officer," you tell him, "this curious-

ly attired individual is underestimating *Our Country*. I have found it necessary to correct him. His data are as uncoordinated as his attire. If you'll believe me, he seems unaware that America is going through the greatest merger movement in history. That 50 of the firms listed by *Fortune* in 1962 as belonging to the 500 largest corporations in the country have since that time been absorbed by other gigantic companies; 30 since 1968."

"Oh, he don't, hey?"

"Now go easy, Officer, it may be ignorance, not malice. He seems unaware that giants like Standard Oil, IBM, General Motors are *international*; they're not just corporations, they're nation-states. There's GM . . . It has 700,000 employees (US and foreign) and 1,300,000 stockholders. It's a world power. Operating expenses of GM exceed those of all but a dozen independent nations. Sales revenues are greater than the *combined* general revenues of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Delaware AND the six New England states. Its cash wages are more than twice the personal income of Ireland. And get this, Officer!—Standard Oil of New Jersey, another giant, has three times more people overseas than the US State Department!"

"No!" says the astonished cop. "Yes," you repeat firmly.

"Imperialist," snarls the hippie.

Disregard him.

"My friends," tell the absorbed crowd, "these expanding, multinational corporations whose coddling and nurture are the loving occupation of our Diplomats, our Army and our Navy, have \$65 billion invested abroad. The most powerful supranational force in the world, Barber calls them. They are immensely powerful political states, lacking only a flag."

"That's good, eh?" asks the cop, doubtfully.

"You ask that of DuPont . . . IBM . . . General Motors? Why they are more American than mince pie or Martha Mitchell. The only difficulty, Officer, is how to meld them into our political system. After all, it's a little awkward treating General Motors legally as a pop-and-mom shop when it has five times the income of Rhode Island. Every political scientist knows the facts; the question is, where do they fit in? Unless given guidance by demo-

cratic government they will shape tomorrow's world in their own image. They will further their own gigantic goals by accident and not by any pre-conceived imperialistic pattern of Marx."

"Marx, is it?" cries the cop, "Marx! Nobody quotes that bum on this beat."

. . . Enough of this conceit! The gist of the new presentation is that Washington knows what's happening in the merger movement and can't, or won't, stop it. This isn't make-believe; corporate concentration is hurtling toward a point where federal attention is mandatory. Not merely corporations, but banks. The two go hand in hand.

Forty-nine big banks now have representatives on the boards of 300 out of the 500 largest US industrial corporations; they are the nerve system that connects the whole corporate body. Does General Motors tell Ford? Maybe not! But J. P. Morgan & Company (\$17 billion of assets in its trust department) has a board member on both General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. I don't say this is bad. I just say it is there. It would be a violation of federal law to have a GM representative on Ford. But it's perfectly legitimate for Morgan to do it. Of course it gives immense practical power to the bank and serves as a bridge between theoretical rivals.

I covered the old anti-trust hearings of corporate concentration. It is just as silly to write about Washington without recognition of the underlying business power as it would be to ignore the Senate, or the Supreme Court.

The system doesn't always work well; an example is right now. Americans invest in mutual and pension funds; the money flows into institutions and banks; they loan it to firms and factories and corporations. J. P. Morgan holds five percent or more of the common stock of 72 corporations.

Investments by mutual funds go more and more into the stock market, making it more susceptible to manipulation. Wall Street stocks have lost 30 percent of their paper values in the past 18 months, a horrifying drop, produced by Vietnam inflation, now accompanied by recession.

The President has enough troubles, God knows. But if this great corporate-banking superpower hands down the verdict, "Nixon is bad for business" then he's in real trouble.

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts*, Vol. 162, No. 22, Issue 2892, May 30, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription \$12; Foreign \$13; Armed Forces personnel or students, \$6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.

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Getting the Boys Home

Though Senator Mansfield tried to be polite about it ("we trust the President, but . . ."), few now seriously believe the Administration will soon extricate the US from Southeast Asia unless compelled to. It isn't that Mr. Nixon is consciously lying when he says he can and will; it's rather that he is lost in a maze of his own making. As John Kenneth Galbraith wrote last week: "The constitutional crisis we face is not between the Congress and the President, but between the civilian authority and the military to which the President has surrendered." The crisis can be resolved only if, Senators Hatfield, McGovern, Hughes and Goodell remind us, Congress "makes the tough decision to restrict funds for [the war's] prosecution."

Congressional resolutions about Cambodia and Vietnam have encountered plenty of flak from the White House clique - the President can hardly be said to have a Cabinet any more. The clique cries that Congress is seeking to "castrate the President." On the contrary, though Senator Fulbright believes Mr. Nixon "has subverted the Constitution in invading another country," the Congress has shown more restraint than circumstances warrant. The Administration's answer to those who criticize its invasion of Cambodia recalls the girl who, while not denying the original slip, insisted she was only a little pregnant. Mr. Nixon told his May 9 press conference that "All Americans of all kinds, including advisers, will be out of Cambodia by the end of June" and that "our logistical and air support will also come out with them." But Ky says, "as long as it's necessary, we will continue to maintain the presence of our troops in Cambodia." South Vietnamese troops have also penetrated Laos, accompanied overhead by American bombers and on the ground by American military "advisers." The Saigon government is determined to lock this country into the war for the indefinite future and Mr. Nixon is putting up only token resistance. The Administration makes no bones about its readiness to resume the bombing of Cambodia at any time, and the resolution of Senators Cooper and Church - an amendment to the Foreign Military Sales Act - wouldn't prevent the Administration's doing so. That resolution seeks only to restrain the President from doing what he has pledged not to do - retain US forces in Cambodia beyond June 30 or launch attacks in Cambodia in support of

the *Cambodian* government. Neither Washington nor Saigon has ever bothered its head about the Cambodians. Cambodia is a "sanctuary," a piece of real estate to burn and bomb and crunch across in hot pursuit of the enemy. The same applies to Laos. But that chase inevitably widens the conflict, as the Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops are driven deeper into Cambodia, and also deeper into Laos whose entire southeast flank has now been opened to North Vietnamese forces. The war may be extended even farther. Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard says that it's "self-denial" to exclude *any* enemy refuge from "American power."

The proposed amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization Act, put forward by Senators Hatfield, McGovern, Hughes and Goodell (with 22 co-sponsors as of last week) leapfrogs the President's Cambodian boner and is aimed at stopping the whole bloody business. It would assert congressional control over the process of withdrawing all US forces from Vietnam, requiring their removal by the end of June, 1971. In order to accomplish this, Congress would withhold from the Administration funds for operations in Indochina, except those Congress specifically authorizes and for purposes Congress specifically approves. To extend the deadline for withdrawal would require a joint resolution of Congress.

The need to be that stiff is reinforced by Defense

Secretary Laird's testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee on May 12. After June 30 next year, he said, there will still be "support" troops in Vietnam. How many? The indications are for between 240,000 and 260,000. Thus, after two full years of "Vietnamization," the million or so South Vietnamese under arms would require for a further indefinite period the support of about a quarter of a million American troops. And no wonder, if the South Vietnamese intend to take over the "defense" of Cambodia and Laos, as well as their own besieged half of Vietnam. Does anyone think that the 240,000 or 260,000 Americans are not going to be under constant threat of attack by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, or that they will not be drawn into further military actions against "sanctuaries" in Cambodia and Laos? An American colonel has already supplied the answer, in an interview with *The New York Times*: "The South Vietnamese can't manage without us in Cambodia." Senator Stennis is even more revealing: If a South Vietnamese force of several thousand or several hundred should raid the sanctuary areas of Cambodia and should be trapped or threatened to be overrun by enemy troops, he said, the President's hands must not be tied "to the extent that we would not be able to send an American relief force to their assistance." Unless Congress now does what it is mandated by the Constitution and common sense to do, President Thieu will shortly have achieved his objective of making this country a permanent ally in his crusade for self-perpetuation. That in turn makes nonsense of the so-called Nixon Doctrine.

That Doctrine, in the view of Secretary of State Rogers, means that Asians cannot look to the US any longer to do their fighting for them, but instead must "cooperate with one another to handle Asian problems." Well, the conference of Asian foreign ministers that met in Indonesia on May 17 turned thumbs down on Cambodia's appeal to them for military and economic help. The Japanese indicated an almost total lack of interest in the future of Indochina. A member of the South Vietnamese delegation dismissed the conference as "worthless." None of the participants had a single bad word to say about the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese.

There is one way to force Thieu to get out of the way of negotiations for a political settlement in Vietnam: speediest possible withdrawal of all American forces. Not half. All. That is what the proposed amendment to the Military Procurement legislation would achieve. It is the real point around which debate in the Senate will swirl for the next few weeks. The Administration will argue that its congressional critics are undermining the Constitution, destroying the President and Commander-in-Chief, and assisting the enemy. The opposite is the truth. It is the war which, if unchecked by Congress, will break us apart.



Antiwar Congressional Candidates-1970

There follow the names of Congressional candidates who, from their statements and/or votes, favor rapid withdrawal of US military forces from Indo-china and the setting of new, nonmilitary priorities in allocating our national resources. The list is necessarily incomplete and subject to revision between now and November 3. Obviously, all candidates not listed are not pro-war. In some instances, where two or more antiwar candidates are competing in a Congressional District, we have designated the one thought to have the lead. An asterisk denotes a candidate who has a reasonably good chance of getting elected. Dates are for primary contests; no date means the candidate thus far has no primary opposition. Incumbents are so identified.

STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE	ADDRESS	DATE
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Connecticut	Senate	*Joseph Duffey D.	924 Farmington Ave., West Hartford	August 19
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	CD 4	*Edward Roush D.	2340 College Ave., Huntington	
	CD 5	Katie Williams D.	Rural Route 1—Walton	
	CD 6	Terry Straub D.	4835 N. Illinois, Indianapolis	
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Kansas	CD 3	James De Coursey D.	P.O. Box 701, Shawnee Mission	

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	CD 4	*Dorothy Leeper D.	2760 Agate St., Eugene	May 26
Pennsylvania	CD 2	*Robert N. C. Nix D. (Inc)	2139 North 22nd St., Philadelphia	
	CD 5	*William J. Greene D. (Inc)	9th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia	
	CD 8	Arthur Hennessy D.	168 Forest Ave., Southampton	
	CD 14	*William S. Moorhead D. (Inc)	2005 Federal Bldg., Pittsburgh	
	CD 19	*Arthur L. Berger D.	406 Deanhurst Ave., Camp Hill	
South Dakota	CD 2	James Abourczk D.	607 1/2 Mt. Rushmore Rd., Rapid City	June 2
Tennessee	Senate	*Albert Gore D. (Inc)	c/o Jack Robinson, 23rd Floor, Life and Casualty Tower, Nashville	
Utah	Senate	*Frank Moss D. (Inc)	65 East Fourth South, Salt Lake City	
Vermont	Senate	*Philip Hoff D.	109 S. Winoski, Burlington	
Virginia	CD 2	*Joseph Fitzpatrick D.	136 Cherry St., Norfolk	July 14
	CD 4	*Ben Ragsdale D.	2510 Floyd Ave.	July 14
	CD 6	Roy White D.	P.O. Box 4351, Roanoke	
	CD 7	*Murat Williams D.	216 Fourth St., N.E., Charlottesville	
	CD 10	*Harold Miller	6377 Dockser Terrace, Falls Church	
Washington	Senate	Carl Maxey D.	c/o Roger Shell, 4722 - 15th NE, Seattle	Sept. 15
	CD 2	David Hughes D.	P.O. Box 2567-4, Seattle	
	CD 7	*Brock Adams D. (Inc)	616 Union St., Seattle (opens middle of June)	
West Virginia	CD 4	*Ken Hechler D. (Inc)	Box 816, Huntington	
Wisconsin	CD 2	*Robert Kastenmeier D. (Inc)	P.O. Box 336, Watertown	
	CD 3	*Ted Fetting D.	River Falls State University, River Falls	Sept. 8
	CD 5	*Henry S. Reuss D. (Inc)	710 N. Plankinton Ave., Milwaukee	
	CD 6	Franklin Utech D.	904 W. New York Ave., Oshkosh	
	CD 10	Walter Thoresen D.	Social Science Bldg., Wisconsin State Univ., Eau Claire	
Wyoming	Senate	Ernest Wilkerson IND	Box 635, Casper	August 18

Power in the House

All right, power to the people. Inside the system. To stop the war. To subdue the war machine. Anyone want to make something of it? People who want power now cannot soon elect a President accountable to them. Nor a Senate. That leaves the House.

The districts are small enough, the costs of election are modest enough and the manpower available seems great enough to elect now, this year, 30 or 40 or 50 new representatives to the House who are ready to act in concert to achieve some common and overriding objectives.

What is power in the House? Only the power of the purse. It is Wilbur Mills in charge of Ways and Means. It is Mendel Rivers in charge of Armed Forces. It is George Mahon in charge of Appropriations. Defeat them? Not likely; anyway, they would be replaced by their own kind. Pack their committees? Impossible, not this decade. Reform the seniority system? Improbable. No member acting alone can challenge or defeat them or even bargain them into significant compromise. No member alone can make the White House, Pentagon or State Department bargain with him as they must daily bargain with Mills, Rivers and Mahon. Who can? A group of members with comparable muscle can.

What is muscle in the House? Votes that represent the balance of power on most important money bills—30 or 40 or 50 votes, provided they are cast in ways reasonable enough to prevent the rest of the House from coalescing against them.

How can a group of 30 or 40 or 50 bargain as one when its members are Democrats and Republicans and Mavericks and men of conscience and independence and individuality? Only if the members of the group choose to give of their conscience, independence and individuality for the sake of a common effort of higher moment and urgency. To THE CAUCUS.

Let 100 candidates for Congress be found who will accept contributions and manpower in return for the pledge to try to stop the war, to subdue the war machine and to redirect the priorities of public spending and for that purpose pledge to each other, to The Caucus, that they will stand and vote together on all military money bills. No more, but no less. They would be free to belong to any party and to work with any faction and to vote in any way except in this one respect. Their votes on military money bills will be committed to The Caucus and that commitment will make The Caucus mighty in the councils of the House.

Let 30 or 40 or 50 of these 100 candidates be elected through a massive contribution of funds and energies and the contributors will never allow the beneficiaries

to forget the source of their election. Let 10 or 20 or 30 already sitting members of the House be allowed to join The Caucus if they will give to it the identical commitment.

A commitment? Of course. No greater than the commitment given by virtually every candidate to his party's President or to his campaign's major contributors.

A private commitment to ignore constituents? Of course not. A publicly declared commitment freely given and openly explained to the electorate before election day.

Ergo, The Caucus.

Will it know what to do? No. Possessing votes it will possess power and its members will set out to barter that power, to achieve restrictions on the purse to end the war, to curb the war machine, to redirect priorities. They will not demand the millennium; they will bargain for what they can get.

How will it work? Who knows. Let imagination and personalities shape the instrument. Most likely, The Caucus will meet often and informally to plot its strategies. The beginning of it may be seen right now in the House: A Congressional Committee for a Vote on the War—nine Democrats and nine Republicans—had by last week 89 co-sponsors on HR-1000 to cut off funds for the war. On close decisions on how to commit its block of votes, The Caucus may meet in public so that its patrons will understand the difficulties of choice and the seriousness of its deliberations.

And the patrons? Now claiming a vested interest in an agency of power, they will probably develop local committees and state committees and national committees. In fact, they will probably congeal into the Caucus Party, holding conferences and conducting research and working among the people to instruct, to guide, to influence and, yes, even to pressure The Caucus in the House. Where there is power, the means to use it usually develop quite fast. Let democracy work.

And if it doesn't work? Well then one or two or three or four or five or six or seven or 10 very good men will have been elected to Congress anyway. And one million or two million or three million or 10 million citizens will be the wiser for their failure.

John Smith

JOHN SMITH is the pseudonym of a Washington political observer who found that Captain John Smith first recorded *caucausu* as the word meaning counselor in Virginia Algonquian.

Cooling It

In the wake of mass riots in Augusta, Georgia that left six dead, each shot in the back by police, and exactly 11 days after the National Guard massacre at Kent State, police and state troopers in a night raid pumped hundreds of rounds without warning into a women's dormitory at Jackson State College in Mississippi, killing two black students and wounding nine. Again, they claimed there was sniper fire; a preliminary, tentative report by Jackson's Mayor, Russell Davis, says there probably was not. Students had thrown rocks and missiles at cars and police. "To me, it's just like going to war," said one Jackson student, echoing the Kent State student who reflected, "Hell, I might as well be in Vietnam."

Blacks feel that the nation is less upset by black bodies on the Jackson State campus than white bodies on the green at Kent. They remember the murder of black students protesting a segregated bowling alley in Orangeburg, South Carolina, in the early spring of 1968. There, in an incident that was largely ignored, state police slaughtered three and wounded 30. A report in this journal at the time asked: "What were they all doing? Raising hell on the South Carolina campus — starting a small bonfire, tossing a couple of Molotov cocktails, cursing and throwing things at the police. Reprehensible, to be sure, but reason to be shotgunned like so many sheep?" The question, for whites and blacks, is no longer rhetorical. No campus is untouched by a growing disposition to put down demonstrators with bullets. More parents may find themselves asking, as Allison Krause's father did: "Have we come to such a state in this country that a young girl has to be shot because she disagrees deeply with the actions of her government?"

No one denies the existence of small groups of students whose bitterness and despair about our institutions and policies have reached the point where they are ready (for Peace) to beat up secretaries, fire-bomb (for Love) ROTC buildings, and even (for Life) kill. Daniel Berrigan, the Catholic priest who went underground to avoid prison for his part in a draft protest, has spoken sadly of the growing tendency of the fringe American Left to mirror the egotism and the propensity to violence of the social order from which it springs.

Recognizing the existence of arsonists and rock-throwers, however, is far from justifying this month's or next month's campus massacres. None of the dead students was anything more than angry about the state of the nation (and some of the victims were not even that). So the question becomes: what are those of us to do who oppose the terrifying drift of American society, and who remain committed to tolerance, freedom of dissent and inquiry and personal liberty?

There is no altogether satisfactory short-run answer. This was tacitly conceded by universities that have

temporarily shut down. We have to face the fact that so long as the hated war goes on, there will be violence. So long as the legal and law enforcement machinery grinds down blacks and dissenters, there will be violence. At Yale, the *cause célèbre* was the Black Panthers. They are scarcely a civil rights group: they style themselves as revolutionaries, stockpile weapons, and talk of "physically eliminating" any opposition, including black opposition. Yet even those hostile to their rhetoric and in disagreement with their assessment of the revolutionary potential of America must admit that they have suffered judicial persecution in such matters as bail; and there is a high probability that they are the victims of a police vendetta, most flagrantly in the Chicago raid that cost the lives of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton.

The universities that have the best chance of surviving the impending troubles are those where disruption is treated as an invitation to reassess university policies — and to *talk*, and not as an excuse for calling the police or the military. Since the upheavals at Columbia and Harvard, both universities have moved in the direction of cutting their links with the war machine and increasing their responsibilities in such matters as local land and housing policies.

On campuses like Yale, and in cities like Washington, D.C., accommodation between protestors and "law and order" forces has gone far. The Washington police throughout the peace demonstrations this and last year showed how intelligent police work can prevent, rather than provoke violence.

One small step toward safer campuses (and streets) would be mutual disarmament. How police or Guardsmen come armed to a demonstration is an excellent index of the chances for civil order. In any state where the Guard continues to enter university campuses with loaded guns, the Guard should be federalized by order of the President and this practice stopped. Also, if John Mitchell were of a mind, the Attorney General could investigate violations of Guard rules and police canons with an eye to possible indictments under civil rights laws. On the civilian side, it has never been more obvious — not since the assassinations of John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy — that there is need for general disarmament. Everywhere, not just on the campuses, firemen and police are afraid of snipers. This fear was the excuse for the Kent and Jackson killings. All over the country, on campuses, in suburbs and ghettos, fearful people of both races are arming. It was long the experience of the civil rights movement that terrorism inflicted on protesters — like the Birmingham bombings — gives a license to all violence. But the violent have also been encouraged by the ease with which weapons can be bought. (On the Cornell campus, blacks armed themselves because they heard the whites were getting guns.) It's time to revive the Congressional effort to control all firearms.

Positive Spending

If enough business people came to think that the war is hurting profits they might become a powerful force for rapid disengagement from Indochina. Following this reasoning, groups scattered about the country have initiated a moratorium on buying. The most general of them advocate a consumer boycott of all non-essential goods. A loose confederation of New York area schools, including NYU, met last week and endorsed such a scheme, singling out products made by firms with defense contracts. The National Austerity Council in San Francisco is circulating a pledge that reads: "Until the President has announced total and immediate US withdrawal from Southeast Asia I pledge myself to buy nothing but essential food items; to cash in all US Government bonds I hold and to withdraw all savings I have in banks, savings and loan associations and credit unions; to attend no paid entertainment and drive as little as possible, sharing transportation to the maximum extent; to persuade as many friends and neighbors to join this dollar boycott. I acknowledge that through my continuing support of the US economy I have been contributing to the horror. I will now disassociate myself from this madness by minimizing my participation in the economy that supports it."

Robert Rossner, a New Yorker, informed the *NR* last week that he had written several hundred people suggesting that they not purchase goods and services of companies that depend on mass consumption, and that are thought to have some influence with the Administration. Rossner suggests withholding dollars from airlines, electronics firms, telephone companies, plastics, sugar. Postpone travel, he says, but in any event don't fly; make do with the appliances you have; write, don't phone; buy products in glass, metal, or paper containers rather than plastics.

Redeploying those dollars in a personal program of "positive spending for peace" has been suggested by David E. Kaun, an associate professor of economics at the University of California at Santa Cruz who believes it is "important to move beyond a consumer boycott by suggesting positive alternative ways to spend the money saved." The "Santa Cruz plan" encourages donations to charities and peace candidates.

Other programs announced in recent days are more specific. Students at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio ("stop buying to stop dying"), have a "no" list of beer, hard liquor, cosmetics, records. Cornell students favor boycotting Standard Oil of N.J.

Boycott USA recommends patronizing imports, foreign banks and airlines. Its basic strike list has on it consumer products of the 50 top defense contractors. Included are General Dynamics (which owns Stromberg-Carlson Corp.); General Tire & Rubber (Pepsi-

Cola); Olin (Olincraft wood products); RCA (Hertz car rental); Teledyne (Packard-Bell); Sperry Rand (Remington shavers); Litton (Royal typewriters, Diners Club); Ling-Temco-Vought (Braniff Airways); ITT (Sheraton Hotels, Wonder Bread, Morton and Hostess bakers); Honeywell (Corningware); Avco (Carte Blanche, Seaboard Finance). The Pentagon in Washington, D.C. (Room 4B945) will supply free, on request, a list of the 100 major defense contractors.

The National Committee for Economic Action, formed in response to the Cambodian invasion, is perhaps the best organized of the power-of-the-purse organizations. Its initial list of products not to be bought included Coca-Cola and Philip Morris. Organized at Brandeis, with research assistance from Clark University students, the NCEA has support in at least 230 schools. To qualify for NCEA's target list, a company must not be diversified. A single product or product line makes a firm more vulnerable than it would be if it has many. It should have competitors to which business can be diverted. It should produce goods for which there is a rapid turnover that would be hurt by a sudden drop in sales. Philip Morris, after two weeks was dropped from the boycott when the company's president, George Weissman, assured NCEA representatives that he would raise money for full page newspaper ads opposing the war in *The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and other papers.

Chairman Wilson

London

When it finally came, Prime Minister Harold Wilson's announcement that he was calling a general election on June 18 seemed almost like a non-event. The reason was to be found in the press buildup that had gone on for days — ever since Britain's four major opinion polls had put Labour in the lead over the opposition Conservatives for the first time in three years.

Mr. Wilson's government certainly goes into the campaign in much better shape than anyone would have dreamed possible even a bare month ago. True, opinion polls that have swung so dramatically (in the case of Gallup by no less than 12 points in four weeks) could theoretically swing back again by the time the nation votes; but Mr. Wilson — who, if the Labour Party is returned to power, will have pulled off the unprecedented trick of winning three elections in a row — undeniably starts with a substantial psychological advantage. To his own supporters he seems "The Miracle Worker," while his opponent (and the nation's alternative Prime Minister) Mr. Edward Heath cannot help looking like the man the voters have studied over

some years, and found wanting.

Every sign points to this being the most presidential of British elections. Mr. Wilson, who is undeniably very conscious that his own personal popularity ratings run well ahead of his party's, has already done his best to make it such. When he explained his reasons for calling the election on television, it was not a partisan politician speaking: it was the chairman of Great Britain, Inc., comfortably confident that the shareholders would give both him and his board a grateful and as it were almost automatic mandate to continue in office.

In a sense, the traditional roles of the two great parties promise in the next three weeks to be ironically reversed. For once it is the Conservatives who have been forced into being the party of challenge and change, while Labour gives every indication of being more than content to rest its case on an appeal to what Warren Harding once called "normalcy." On the position of labor unions, on tax reform, even on British entry into Europe, Mr. Heath and the Conservatives represent experiment and innovation; Labour, on the other hand, stands four-square for the established order. Despite the long dark night of unpopularity that Mr. Wilson's government has so recently been through, it is not only the country's bookmakers who now regard Labour as the odds-on favorite to win. The British appetite for upheaval and dislocation has never been strong – and Mr. Heath (unlike Mr. Wilson before he first came to power in 1964) lacks the personal dynamism even briefly to foster it. Short of any unexpected and at the moment totally invisible electoral issue suddenly catching the public's imagination, Mr. Wilson should be able to count on extending his lease of number ten Downing Street on the morning of June 19.

Anthony Howard

So Balaguer Won

Santo Domingo

What has really happened in the Dominican Republic in the five years since the American intervention here is not that that old Trujilloite Joaquin Balaguer undoubtedly completed four years as president and was reelected again on May 16, or that the temperamental Juan Bosch has returned, broadcasting daily his mystic utterances. It is that the masses of young people in this beautiful, tormented Caribbean nation have completely lost faith in democracy. The same young men and women who shouted, fought and died in 1965, proudly calling themselves *constitutionalistas*, for a

return to constitutional government, now greet elections with derisive laughter. Their favorite calypso song extolls the charms of "popular dictatorship." Massive numbers of young people consciously and deliberately abstained from voting in the May elections – a determined slap at a system they once were ready to die for.

A process of radicalization has set in that is serious because an important minority of ultra-nationalists of the Communist MPD (Democratic Popular Movement) are now working side by side with the majority of liberal democrats of Bosch's PRD (Dominican Revolutionary Party) in a nationwide network of "commandos." These clandestine groups have shock-waved the country with a new tactic called "micro-meetings" – sudden street groupings that appear like tropical storms. They throw a bomb or overturn a car, and are gone. Organized in factories, neighborhoods, the countryside and schools and numbering in each from ten to one hundred members, they have as their conscious aim another civil war, beginning with a military insurrection and occurring within Balaguer's next four-year term. In effect, we are precisely back where we were before the US stepped in to put down the 1965 revolution aimed at returning the constitutionally elected Bosch to power. The difference is that at that time the revolutionaries were democratic; they were rebels almost in a nineteenth century style. Today almost all the young people lean either toward Marxism or toward a form of Bosch's cerebrally delineated "popular dictatorship."

And Bosch, 61 years old now, deeply embittered, thanks the United States for this. He sat recently on the outside porch of his sister's home near the sea in Santo Domingo, sipping lemonade, anger etched in his craggy face. "It was our good fortune that the American intervention opened the eyes of our people," he said. "If not, we might have gone many years not realizing that democracy could not work here."

Not only Bosch is disappointed and despairing. What is most striking among American officials dealing with the Dominican Republic, both here and in Washington, is the dramatic change in attitude over the last couple of years. Before then, it was all upbeat. The wispy little Balaguer, who whispers instead of talks but whispers along conservative lines, would provide economic development. Now the mood is all downbeat. As one high American official said, with typical tortuousness, on the eve of Balaguer's pyrrhic victory in May, "Balaguer is capable of not being capable of answering the country's problems."

Balaguer's economic decisions have been based on personal caprice, and his political "genius" involves mostly keeping the old Trujilloite military happy by giving them what they want. Balaguer is the kind of traditional, paternalistic Spanish-Caribbean leader who stands for hours, a cleansing pad damp with

alcohol at hand to clean his hands after each few contacts with his grizzled peasant supporters, taking each *militante* by the hand and advising him on everything from his daughter's unmarried pregnancy to getting a new goat. This is about the way he also runs the country. Typically, I once waited four hours to see him – and with me, waiting all that precious time, were no fewer than three of his most important ministers. The US poured in aid and investments after the 1965 invasion. But development didn't keep track with the 3.8 per thousand population growth rate. By this year the \$280 per capita income was still lower than it was in 1964, and unemployment has jumped to between 30 and 50 percent.

During this four-year period, about 500 persons died mysteriously and not so mysteriously (one of Balaguer's top military officers recently machine-gunned a Boschist taxi-driver at noon on a busy street) in this country of about 4.5 million persons. All but about 30 of the dead come from the PRD and the farther Left. So it is well to remember, if one thinks that perhaps the Dominican Republic has had enough of civil war, that this is fully half of the 1000 people who died in 1965.

Since Balaguer cannot be expected to do anything differently, the corrosion of faith in democracy will certainly advance. This was heralded by last month's elections, in which Balaguer received 607,000 votes. With a United Nations-estimated vote of between 1.8 million and 2 million, and a total opposition vote of about 500,000, this indicates a massive abstentionism of the kind called for by Bosch, whose PRD did not take part in the elections, terming all elections here fraudulent. This is particularly significant in a country where the poor people get jobs, patronage and food dependent upon their voting card being stamped.

The approximately 60 percent of the country that is under 21 years of age seems to be reacting with favor and even enthusiasm to a mixture of Mussolini corporativism, democratic idealism, and Nasserite new militarism. Many Dominicans seem ready for anything, even a new dictatorship, which would take them away from the suffering, the undernourishment and the humiliation they have known. The idea – shared by both the PRD and the Marxist MPD – is to foment a military insurrection, to get the masses into the streets and to force the incumbent military to institute a popular military junta which would eventually give way to Bosch's "popular dictatorship."

I recently was out in the poor Juan Pablo Duarte barrio on the outskirts of Santo Domingo. In the midst of the shacks, the mud and the unemployment, I asked a 19-year-old boy who proudly refused to vote in this election what he thought will happen in the next four years. He smiled a dark troubled smile. "We Dominicans will eat each other," he said.

Georgie Anne Geyer

Automated War

Is Indochina to become a testing ground for Gen. William Westmoreland's "Army of the Future"? "I see battlefields or combat areas that are under 24-hour real or near real-time surveillance of all types," he said last October. "I see battlefields on which we can destroy anything we locate through instant communications and the almost instantaneous application of highly lethal firepower. . . ."

Now, of course, our firepower is already quite lethal. In an average month, American B-52s drop 100,000 tons of bombs on South Vietnam (500,000 tons were dropped in the Pacific theater during all of World War II). But with further progress towards an automated battlefield, greater efficiency in destruction is anticipated. "On the battlefield of the future," Westmoreland predicts, "enemy forces will be located, tracked and targeted almost instantaneously through the use of data links, computer assisted intelligence evaluating and automated fire control." So "the need for large forces to fix the opposition physically will be less important."

A new computer network called Seek Data II being installed in Vietnam will reduce the average time for planning day-to-day operations from two days to two hours. "It is a crucial step toward bona fide push-button warfare," says an article in *Air Force and Space Digest* (Feb. 1970). Seek Data II has been developed by Control Data Corporation, which has people working at the 7th Air Force Headquarters in Saigon installing it. "By comparison," *Air Force and Space Digest* says of Seek Data II, "no previous computer programming package including those used for command and control of US strategic forces, has been able to provide real-time control of situations as dynamic and ever-changing as the tactical air operations in a major theater. Issuing orders to hundreds of aircraft in roving forward areas is a most difficult command and control task. Automation of this through Seek Data II should significantly increase the efficiency of our tactical air capability."

In order to "fix" the enemy, he has been found. Westmoreland promises that the Army is significantly "improving our capability" to find him. A *New York Times* article of Feb. 13 reported that "the Pentagon is studying a proposal to provide enough modern sensing devices so that South Vietnam could seal its entire 900 mile border against sizable enemy infiltration"; a scientist notes that "we can now provide for ground troops [the South Vietnamese who are supposed to take over the fighting] the kind of early warning systems that we long have provided in anti-submarine warfare and air defense."

This proposed sensor seal resembles the McNamara Line – land mines, barbed wire, and electronic sensors which were placed along the 39 mile demarcation line between South and North Vietnam. A number of mon-

itoring devices are already in use there. A two-foot long cylindrical sonobuoy, used by the Navy to track enemy submarines, was dropped into the trees and brush around Khesanh, and along the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos and Cambodia. It records the sounds of enemy troops and trucks, stores the information until special planes fly overhead and pick up the information electronically. The recordings are transmitted to a computer bank.

When the Seek Data system is completed, the US may be able to respond with massive firepower in a matter of hours to enemy movements detected by the sensors. Firepower "can be concentrated without massing numbers of troops," Westmoreland told the US Army Association last October 14. "In Vietnam where artillery and tactical air forces inflict over two-thirds of the enemy casualties, firepower is responsive as never before. It can rain destruction anywhere on the battlefield within minutes . . . whether friendly troops are present or not."

This pinpointing is also being improved through the use of laser technology. *Aviation Week and Space Technology* (Jan. 19, 1970) reports that "the success of many laser-related techniques in Southeast Asia and others now in trial in Eglin AFB and elsewhere presage widespread use of laser designator/ranger finds in at least those permissive military environments that characterize air warfare over South Vietnam and to a lesser degree prevailed over North Vietnam where the US maintained air superiority.

The Department of Defense has stated that laser-guided bombs, introduced in 1968, have led to a ten-fold increase in accuracy. Laser finding equipment is being used by the Air Force to improve night bombing. The Army is developing use of lasers for illuminating night viewing and night observation devices, and as a rangefinder for helicopter weapon delivery and artillery spotting from both the air and the ground. Research and development on new technical systems designed to improve firepower capabilities in Southeast Asia is being carried out. In the fiscal year 1971 defense budget, \$27.9 million is allotted for the AX attack bomber, a small turboprop plane able to operate effectively at a wide range of subsonic speeds. The AX has a short takeoff and landing capability, is armed with a variety of conventional bombs and strafing guns, and is expected to be more reliable than the F-100, F-105 and F-5 planes now in use in Vietnam. Another project in the development stage which is designed to build up US firepower is SMASH (South-east Asia Multi-Sensor Armament System Helicopter).

Technological warfare replaces men on the field. It destroys in ways less visible, less costly to Americans — though not less costly to the Indochinese.

Derek Shearer

DEREK SHEARER is co-editor of a book on the Pentagon and national security to be published by Doubleday.

The Nixon Watch

Cabinet Capers

Reporters at the White House were mildly puzzled not long ago when they were told that George Romney, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, had regaled a Cabinet meeting that day with an account of his visit to a new and experimental federal information center in Philadelphia. The center is one of several where citizens are supposed to be able to find out whatever they want to know about government services and agencies. It was puzzling because Romney and Counsellor Daniel P. Moynihan, the President's urban specialist, had visited the Philadelphia center weeks before and had already favored the press with a detailed and rather dull account of their findings that the center was a success. Why take up the President's and the Cabinet's time at that late date with the same report?

The answer tends to confirm an impression that the Cabinet as an institution, a body that has to be called into session at decent intervals in respect for tradition and for the egos of its members, has become something of a nuisance to modern Presidents. Alexander P. Butterfield, a deputy assistant to the President who has been functioning as the "Cabinet coordinator" since last November, had been unable to fill the agenda for that day's meeting. He customarily schedules three items for Cabinet discussion, plus a fourth that is always labelled "Remarks of the President" on a memorandum distributed in advance to Cabinet members. Butterfield shops around among department heads for matters thought to be worth discussion and submits their suggestions to the President, who usually approves whatever is offered him but sometimes strikes out one or more items and substitutes his own. Nobody came up with a third suggestion for the meeting in question, Butterfield put out an SOS for help and Romney and Moynihan, both of whom are avid talkers, gladly filled the gap.

Butterfield acquired the chore of Cabinet coordinator by default. Another deputy assistant, John C. Whitaker, was designated Cabinet Secretary when Mr. Nixon took office with the usual affirmations that he expected to make his Cabinet a viable and valued forum for counsel and discussion at the peak of federal power. Whitaker, in addition to setting up meeting schedules and acting as the President's liaison man with Cabinet members, found himself devoting much of his time to the needs and demands of Cabinet wives. They looked to him for such things as special White House tours for their out-of-town guests and access to the Presidential yacht *Sequoia* for their husbands' more-or-less official dinners. A discreet young man, not given to complaint, Whitaker was said to have been pleased and relieved when the President

math details from that trip continued to occupy him, somebody had to attend to Cabinet matters, and the task fell to Butterfield. He was then and still is one of the senior deputies to H. R. Haldeman, the administrative chief of the White House staff.

The formal abandonment of the title of Cabinet Secretary and Butterfield's formal designation as Cabinet coordinator accompanied a major rearrangement, in early November, of the responsibilities shared by Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, who was then entitled the Assistant for Domestic Affairs. Whitaker was transferred from Haldeman's to Ehrlichman's larger and still expanding staff at about the same time that several other changes, petty but symptomatic of the Nixon establishment's preoccupation with structure were occurring. Haldeman relinquished to Butterfield a small office directly adjoining the President's Oval Office, along with the physical handling and delivery to Mr. Nixon of documents prepared for him, and moved down the West Wing hall to a large corner office which until then had been reserved for but seldom used by Vice President Agnew. Dwight Chapin, another Haldeman staffer who schedules the President's visitors and performs innumerable personal services, moved from a corridor desk into an office of his own, across the hall from Butterfield's, and delegated to a young assistant named Stephen Bull the usher's task of seeing visitors in and out of the Oval Office. Both Haldeman and Chapin, it is said, have more time now than they had before for thinking about what they should do for the President and are not so burdened with the mean details of doing it.

Ehrlichman, now acknowledged to be the chief assistant for purposes of domestic policy formulation and management, went to elaborate lengths to insure adequate liaison and cooperation with the statutory Cabinet members and the departments they head. Haldeman's man, Butterfield, confines himself to arrangements for the regular but infrequent meetings (26 so far, counting the one at which the President let his Cabinet in on his decision to send American troops into Cambodia but wasted no time on discussion of it with them) and leaves all else, including the wants of Cabinet wives, to six Ehrlichman assistants who deal with the domestic departments and agencies. The assistant assigned to Agriculture, Interior, and some bureaus of the Commerce Department is the former Cabinet Secretary, John Whitaker. One of his Secretaries is Walter Hickel of Interior, who projected himself into national view on May 7 in the unlikely role of the Cabinet's leading liberal and advocate of a degree of concern for the nation's rebellious youth that the Administration had not displayed up to then.

Hickel accomplished this with a letter to the President, the one in which he suggested that Vice President Agnew be ordered to moderate his divisive rhetoric and that Mr. Nixon, among other things, "consider

meeting on an individual and conversational basis with members of your Cabinet." Hickel's staff leaked the letter the day it was written to three newspapers, before it had reached the President, and also confided to the press that Hickel had enjoyed only two private meetings with the President in 15 months. Everything said in the letter needed saying; it helped bring into the open discontents at Cabinet level with Nixon policies varying from Vietnam and Cambodia to counter-inflationary measures and the Administration's grievous lack of response to domestic unrest, and Secretary Hickel deserves the accolades that he immediately received and invited for himself on national television. But the episode had its odd aspects, unnoticed in the general acclaim for a Cabinet rebel, and they suggest that Mr. Hickel chose his time and occasion with care.

His televised account (on the CBS Mike Wallace show), plus the tidbit about the two private meetings, left the impression that a Cabinet member with urgent need of consultation with the President was shut off from Mr. Nixon, not only then but all the time, by the White House establishment. What is really shown is that the White House establishment is singularly inept at setting forth facts that serve its President's cause and that, in this instance, Secretary Hickel was in no mood to supply them himself. He knows, as does every other department head and Cabinet member, that within reason he can see the President privately whenever he needs to. The reason Mr. Hickel had seen the President alone only twice in 15 months was that he had asked for only two meetings in that time. The day that he chose to demand a third meeting in private was Tuesday May 5, when the President was involved for more than five hours with House and Senate committeemen, explaining and defending the Cambodian decision, and in addition was awakening – without Secretary Hickel's proffered assistance – to the significance and impact of the killing of four Kent State University students by Ohio National Guardsmen on the previous Monday afternoon. Told that Mr. Nixon was too busy to see him, Hickel asked his White House intermediary, the unfortunate Whitaker, to set up a meeting or telephone talk with Ehrlichman. It so happened – and prying this fact out of the White House staff was like extracting eye-teeth – that Ehrlichman had departed on the afternoon of the Kent State killings for Charlottesville, Va., where he addressed a seminar of federal officials assembled there from all over the country and remained well into the Tuesday. Given five or ten minutes of talks by telephone or in person with Ehrlichman, Hickel later said, he probably would not have written the letter. Whitaker told Hickel that it was impossible to get Ehrlichman on the telephone – an extraordinary claim, since White House assistants are supposed never to be out of reach of the telephone. As for the demanded meeting with Mr. Nixon, the Secretary's account indicates that he dealt only with John Whitaker although he

knew, as he said on television, that Haldeman and Chapin are the ones to see about seeing the President.

Cabinet members often rely upon their assigned liaison man, in this instance Whitaker, to make the requested arrangement with Haldeman or Chapin, but it seems odd that Secretary Hickel, given the state of agitation and insistence in which he says he was, did not appeal directly and for himself to one of the two

keepers of the Nixon door. On the next day, Wednesday, the President appeared from his published schedule to be less pressed than he had been on Tuesday. But Hickel was occupied in polishing the final draft of his letter that morning, somebody on his staff was busy preparing to leak it, and nothing happened to impede one of the more interesting episodes of the Nixon Presidency.

John Osborne

Children Who Are Tested in an Alien Language Mentally Retarded?

by Mary Ellen Leary

When eight-year-old Diana was brought by her mother last fall in Soledad, California, to take a school test, she may not have noticed that the date was odd, a Saturday, and the environment, a lawyer's office, unlike the customary blackboard and desk setting. What she did notice with joy was that the man who administered the test, unlike any teacher she had previously encountered, spoke to her in the language she knew from home, the only language that she knew, Spanish.

Consequently, when Victor Ramirez, a school psychologist, asked questions of Diana and eight other youngsters from her class that weekend, they answered with a precision and alacrity far different from their usual classroom response. Diana had scored only 30 in the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test at school, given in English. In the Spanish translated IQ test she scored 49 points higher. Of the nine children retested in Spanish, all but one rose above the cut-off score used by California school districts to cull children out of mainstream education into the special category "educable mentally retarded." All had been classified "mentally retarded" in school-administered tests.

Many psychiatrists, psychologists and educators agree with Dr. Allen Cavin of Behavior Research Laboratory, Palo Alto, that "we have made our classes for the mentally retarded dumping grounds for problem children." Thanks to a sequence of recent events in California, of which the lawsuit *Diana - et al. vs State Board of Education* was one, this shocking misplacement has been exposed.

The first racial analysis of California's 65,000 mentally retarded school children disclosed in January that 2.14 percent of all the Spanish-surnamed children, and

an even higher proportion, 3.26 percent, of all the Negro children have been funnelled into classes for the educable mentally retarded, while only .71 percent of all the white children are so classified. To put the findings another way, pupils with Spanish surnames constitute 15.22 percent of the general school population in California but represent 28.34 percent of the enrollment in classes for educable mental retardation. Black children are 8.85 percent of total public school enrollment in California but 25.5 percent of the enrollment in classes for the educable mentally retarded.

To grasp the injustice of these figures as an index of innate mental incapacity, note that the state's own study points out that the overall incidence of mental retardation in the US for *any* segment of the population never exceeds two percent, and any claim in excess "is spurious." At the lower level of mental retardation, among those children deemed only "trainable" not "educable," all races have very nearly the same proportion - about a fifth or a quarter of one percent. How, then, could there be such difference by race in the "educable mentally retarded" category? The answer, of course, lies not in the children but in the system.

California school authorities did not initiate this study; they were pressured into it by clamorous Spanish-speaking parents. Their anger, given effective force by the Mexican-American Political Association, finally stirred the State Board of Education last February to order every one of the state's 1300 school districts to undertake a reexamination of all children in the "mental retardation" categories. Individual intelligence tests are to be given both in English "and in the primary language used in his home." "Any assessment of the

child's intellectual functioning should be on the basis of the spoken language most familiar to the child."

A complete report on the results is due by August 31. Children discovered to be improperly classified will, by the start of next fall's school year, be moved into regular classes for general education. A series of bills is before the legislature intended to support this transition with supplementary teaching, extra guidance and special classes as needed, permitting the \$550 a year extra "mental retardation" state support to accompany this child two years, until he is capable of everyday classwork. If approved by the legislature, this should make the shift tolerable in most school districts. No one pretends children illiterate in the classroom language are not a problem. The horror lies in how that problem has been met in the past.

The retesting and reevaluation now also has the extra force of a judicial decree. An agreement was reached on Feb. 5 to settle the lawsuit on behalf of Diana and "some 22,000 Mexican-American students trapped in classes for the mentally retarded because they were given allegedly culturally unfair IQ tests in English instead of Spanish." Signed by US District Judge Robert F. Peckham, the order mandates a study of home environment, conferences with parents, use of nonverbal as well as verbal tests and placement decision by a broad school committee, not a single test-administrator. It orders annual retesting of all children termed mentally retarded and it opens the way for continuing consultation between psychologists and teachers concerning any child with special learning problems.

It was pathetic to learn, through court affidavits, that many of Diana's associates were habitually taunted in the playground by children whose IQ (in the subsequent retesting) was on a par with their own. (One of them bore the nickname "Mentally Ill Manuel.") They were shunned by children whose parents admonished against association with "dumb" or "crazy" kids. One child in this plaintiff group, Arthur, had been plodding over a second-grade arithmetic textbook when the case was initiated. One month later he was successfully studying fifth grade arithmetic. The Soledad school district, once haled into court over the problem, took a constructive approach and brought the youngsters back to "normal" classrooms, hiring Spanish-speaking teachers as supplementary aides.

Texans know minority children are over-represented in their mental retardation classes, and in San Antonio the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund has been at work correcting it. Shocking disproportions of Spanish-speaking have also been found in Colorado. In Massachusetts an effort has been made to get fairer testing of minorities. In New York Puerto Rican families forced the issue nearly four years ago; there, one usable IQ test has been translated into Spanish, the WISC, Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. School districts in California are turning to it now, although

a crash program is on "norming" it for Mexican-American children, rather than Puerto Rican. Translating and determining normative standards of existing tests is underway in Los Angeles through the Mexican-American Educational Project, funded by the federal government within the State Department of Education. An additional \$100,000 is being sought from the state this year to develop fresh tests and to make cultural adaptations and translations for the Chinese-speaking, the Indians, Filipinos and others. It's a staggering job.

But if bilingual tests are in short supply, bilingual psychologists are even scarcer. California has more psychologists in its schools than any other state. But most speak only English. The new regulations permit use of an interpreter.

It is interesting that in this one facet of school discrimination, Mexican-American anger erupted earlier and made itself felt more effectively than the indignation of blacks. Statistics show more black children are being "dumped" into mental retard classification than Spanish-speaking, yet few black mothers joined the Chicano protests. The Negro need for rescue has, however, lately captured the interest of a group of black psychologists.

School psychologists in California are elated over the turn of events. But there is no escaping a sense that they, not the dismayed, illiterate Chicano parents, should have been the ones to ring the alarm over the enormous damage being done these children. "We weren't that free," is the defense raised by Hal Simpson, chairman of the professional standards committee of the California Association of School Psychologists and Psychometrists. School regulations limited options for helping non-English speaking children, he says. Testers may have been quite aware the child's impediment was language, not innate incapacity, but if the child fell below a given range on IQ tests and did not advance in the classroom he was automatically eligible for "special education." In most cases this meant only the program for the mentally retarded.

It is a wry twist that California schools had the capacity to expand these classes because a few years ago some sensitive legislators concerned themselves about the need for those genuinely retarded. Funds they made available — \$550 a year per child beyond normal state support — became an incentive to school districts to turn in that direction with problem children. "We felt minority children who couldn't follow classwork at least had a chance for individual attention in classes of limited size," explains Mr. Simpson. However, attorneys for *Diana et al.* found it "difficult to understand how 'professionals' could tolerate this misuse of IQ testing or how an association of psychologists could justify continuing to permit its members to test unfairly in a language a child is unable to speak, especially knowing the school will rely on the result to imprison that child in classes that do only what eleven-year-old Maria called 'baby stuff.'"

Making It in the U.S. Army

by Edward L. King

Last year Infantry Lt. Col. Edward L. King, 41, requested voluntary retirement from the US Army after serving over 20 years. He and more than 1500 other officers were "selectively" refused release from active duty and were told that lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains must first do a Vietnam tour. King had not. However, officers who had served in Vietnam were also retained involuntarily.

King had a better than average regular army career. He fought in Korea, had been three years with the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had served as a General Staff Planning Officer during the 1961 Berlin crisis, and as a US infantry adviser to the Spanish Army, and had been a member of the US Delegation to the Inter-American Defense Board. Only superior officers get that many responsible assignments.

King, in a request for reconsideration, gave as his reason for wishing to retire his "opposition to the unnecessary, poorly commanded, no-win war in Vietnam." Back came a letter detaching him from the JCS, sending him to Ft. McNair—to do nothing and ordering him to have a psychiatric examination because of "grave doubts as to his integrity." But the very same day he took the mental test, at Walter Reed, he was also whipped briefly back to the Pentagon—to receive the Presidential Legion of Merit "for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services" during his three years with the Joint Chiefs.

That was May 23, 1969; on June 20, his retirement request was suddenly approved. Subsequently, the other 1500 officers were also promised release, and the involuntary retention plan, secretly in effect from October 1968, but officially acknowledged only in June 1969, died December 15, coinciding with the announced withdrawal of 25,000 men from Vietnam. But King was informed, in writing, that his release was "in the best interests of the Army" because of "a complete reversal of the previously highly rated attitude and motivation reflected during your career."

Thus an admittedly fine officer was released by the Army "for cause," his only offense having been to comply with instructions and put in writing some sincere thoughts about the war in Vietnam and need for reform in the Army, thoughts which, upon reflection, are not so different than those expressed by other concerned Americans.

THE EDITORS

Major General Samuel W. Koster, until recently the Superintendent of West Point, and 14 other US Army officers have been charged among other things with suppressing information about alleged murders of Vietnamese civilians at Songmy in 1968. Americans find such charges against senior officers hard to credit. But the real culprit may prove to be the Army's atmosphere of almost total self-deception. In the climate now prevalent in the Army, it is not inconceivable that some men might compromise their principles and try to hush up murders of civilians, either convinced this is what their superiors wish, and that not to stay silent would damage their own careers, or believing they could get away with keeping such information from higher authority.

Organization-man conformity has become the pat-

tern for success in the US Army Officer Corps. This is not the zippered lip of the professional soldier, rather it is the cover-up of the "get on the team" boot-lickers. It has produced unthinking, subservient yes-men who practice deception and concealment in order to cover up any error or failure which, if revealed, could harm either the system or the individual career. The conformity and deception are enforced by adverse "efficiency ratings" against officers who dare speak out. A single unfavorable rating can be an effective and absolute bar to promotion. The alternative to concealing, suppressing or falsely swearing may be professional ruin for an officer. Such a system inevitably produces fearful, over-cautious men, oftentimes dishonest men. Thus the Army has become a nightmare for the intelligent and honest man, and a haven

for the mediocre and callous.

Another instrument for enforcing conformity – and getting men to “voluntarily” serve in Vietnam – is the Army’s “careers incentives” policy. Promotion is not possible without a Vietnam tour, which until last December was also a condition of retirement for a Regular Army officer. There has therefore been hot competition for combat commands. In fact, there were fewer command slots than applicants, so it was decided to rotate command assignments. After only six months of combat command, officers were assigned to staff or advisory jobs. This enabled more officers to qualify for promotion by getting combat command time on their records. But it by no means provided the most effective leadership for combat units consisting of draftees. Many officers who volunteered for combat command had never commanded a unit, or had not done so for years. It is not possible for a combat commander to get to know his men, and also be fully oriented to local combat conditions and be qualified to lead men into battle in less than 30 or even 90 days. Nevertheless, the rotation system has moved commanders when they had barely learned their job, and replaced them with new, untried officers. The men who have to serve in such units for one year bear the brunt of eager, green commanders, who “lead” them into battle by circling overhead in a helicopter, issuing profane commands. This system gets quite a few professional West Point officers promoted. It also gets more draftees killed than need be. The 2-star commander of the division that assaulted Hamburger Hill was on his second voluntary tour of duty in Vietnam. Officers who undertake extra tours may of course be motivated by patriotism and a desire to serve. But they also know as did this new 3-star Lt. general, that one of the unwritten conditions for promotion to 3-star Army rank is command of a division and preferably successful command of one in combat. And there are some who, to promote their own careers, would gladly continue a war that is corrupting and destroying the US Army.

That army today is a support-heavy, overstaffed force that is not tactically organized to win. More than 400,000 Army troops have served in Vietnam, but at no time during the war have more than 100,000 of them been available for combat. And considering the leadership at high levels it seems amazing that we have managed to stay in Vietnam at all.

In general, the men of the Army have fought in Vietnam with a bravery that has greatly exceeded the ability of the leadership. But there is widespread dissatisfaction and lowered morale as is shown by constantly rising dissent, AWOL and desertion rates. In the absence of a real military objective in Vietnam, the make-do tactics of “search and destroy” and “sweeps” of the countryside have accomplished little beyond getting many young Americans killed, or

crippled and blinded by mines and booby traps. These blunderbuss tactics have also killed or maimed many Vietnamese civilians. And no doubt some Americans have shot innocent civilians out of hand, because of “body counts” and the frustration and despair they felt at seeing comrades lost in tactical operations that produced few tangible results. We lose the war while we win most of the battles against a fourth-rate foe who lacks air power. Yet there are repeated predictions of victory, turning the corner, light at the end of the tunnel, “Vietnamization.” In 1968, the US military said Vietnamization was not possible, even though we had been advising and equipping the South Vietnamese armed forces since 1955. Now, in spite of Vietnamization being hailed as the final solution, it is intended to maintain a residual base force of around 200,000 US troops indefinitely in Vietnam. This comes as a cruel shock to this country which is thoroughly tired of the war. The armed forces’ job is to fight to defend the nation against a threat to its freedom, not to cover up diplomatic blunders, committed thousands of miles from our shores, where no real threat to the national security exists.

The Army in Vietnam has unnecessarily burdened itself with a crushing load of technological gadgetry. These overly sophisticated weapons have required staggering totals of maintenance support and costly supply. This in turn has created a noncombat support base that has actually utilized more than half the manpower and money this country has dedicated to Vietnam. Comfortable high command rear area living is ensured by “battle supplies” of refrigerators, television sets, stereo sets, and washing machines. Duty in Saigon today is no more dangerous than being in downtown Washington, D.C., late at night, but the staff officers in Saigon draw “hostile-fire pay.”

The Army’s moral climate tempts officers to do anything that will advance their careers however wrong. Among many of my superiors and fellow officers, I could detect no stirrings of conscience at profiting professionally and financially from a war they admitted had no legitimate military objective and caused the needless death and maiming of thousands of young Americans.

At the same time, the whole Army structure is pervaded with fear of reprisals that stifles any whisper of dissent. Reprisal can come in many forms – the “efficiency report,” secret “security” investigation, character assassination, professional ostracism and humiliation. The consequence is to keep many good officers gagged in obedience to the Army’s protective self-deceptions, and frees the less observant to get away with anything. One self-deception is that the end justifies the means; that doctrine when practiced by the Japanese Army in World War II resulted in a 1945 Supreme Court decision by which we hanged their supreme commander in the Philippines, General Yamashita; in our case it seems to have led only to battle-

field frustration and degradation as at Songmy. Isn't our supreme commander equally responsible?

What should be done? Those who fight should also be freely heard. The men who serve in the Army must be permitted the right of uncensored freedom to speak out without fear of reprisal. Those who fight in the name of freedom should be the first to expect to be able to think and live in freedom. The serviceman is entitled to exercise all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution he is sworn to defend. These rights ought not to be abrogated by court-martial or banishment to

Vietnam for daring to dissent. There must be no repetition of the trials at Fort Jackson, Fort Bragg, Fort Dix and the Presidio. The tone of the US Army must cease to be one of deception, concealment and self-interest, combined with an aura of constant terror of acknowledging failure or error. The US Army is an organization steeped in grandeur and prestige. It desperately needs enlightened reform. The citizens of the republic must not permit it to be destroyed by those within or without who would abuse and demean it for personal or parochial gain.

Controlling Inflation Is "Jawboning" a Joke?

by Melville J. Ulmer

Ever since I was a student in the late 30s, conservative economists have been repeating that you can't keep water in a boiling kettle by cramming the lid down; you have to put out the fire. And so you can't stop inflation by government price control; you have to reduce excessive spending. We are told the same today by Paul W. McCracken and Herbert Stein of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Like many other analogies, this one seems the more convincing the less you think about it. Thus:

► We have reduced the nation's spending since December sufficiently to boost the number of unemployed from 2.8 million to 4 million, or from 3.5 to 4.8 percent of the labor force. Still, as Andrew Brimmer of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors acknowledges, there is no "perceptible retardation" in the rate of inflation. Consumer prices rose quite steadily at a 6 percent annual rate from December right on through April, the latest month for which data are available.

► Since the end of World War II prices rose in every year except one, 1949. Yet, excluding the Korean War, unemployment averaged 5 percent from 1946 through 1966, and demand was clearly deficient rather

than excessive. The overall increase in prices in that period was 70 percent.

► In recent weeks, although sales have been falling, prices were raised in steel, aluminum, electrical and construction machinery, and a variety of other manufactured goods. In the first quarter of this year the gross national product, in real terms, fell by the largest amount since the 1960 recession.

► The cost of medical services has doubled since 1955, leading the upward canter of the cost of living. Underlying the rise was not a prolonged period of "excessive" demand, but the shortage of doctors and paramedical personnel.

► While unemployment was rising during the first quarter of this year, unions were pushing as strenuously as ever for higher wages. Teamsters, some teachers, postmen, restaurant workers and hospital workers were the small vanguard of the record number of employees whose representatives will be negotiating new contracts in the months ahead. In no known instance are the union leaders aiming at anything less than a substantial increase.

In the first flush of its victory, when the Nixon Administration seemed mesmerized by its campaign oratory, Presidential counsellor Arthur Burns announced that he would be satisfied with nothing less than perfect price stability – a "zero percent" annual change in the consumer price index. Hard experience, plus the

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oncoming November elections, have modified that objective as well as the confidence that prompted it. What the Nixon Administration has learned is that dampening the economy, or banishing excess demand, is not enough to stop inflation—unless it were willing to go whole hog and throw as much as 8 percent of the labor force out of work.

The Administration has already, in just four months, raised the jobless total by over a million—a statistic that makes mockery of its “work-oriented” welfare program now moving through Congress. The so-called Workfare program, passed by the House, provides new training facilities for 150,000 men and women, just about one-eighth of the number thrown out of jobs since the beginning of this year. Hence a hurried effort has been made to shore up, and perhaps reverse, the recession now underway. Social Security benefits have been raised and government employees were given a 6 percent pay boost. New federal funds have been released for state and local construction projects. The surtax on incomes will be dropped entirely in July. Arthur Burns, now chairman of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, has already begun to fulfill his promise of monetary ease by allowing an increase in the money supply. The current federal budget will show a deficit of at least \$1.8 billion instead of the widely advertised surplus.



“Poor devil—if he could only learn to stay out of wars . . .”

These measures may prove too little and too late. In that case the inflation may be modified slightly but the uptrend in unemployment will continue, perhaps to 6 percent of the labor force by the end of the year. Or, the economy may move sideways, as Paul McCracken predicts. But in that event, with an expanding population, unemployment will edge up slightly while prices, in all probability, will pursue their merry way skyward, just as now. Or, finally, business activity may turn up, reversing the recession. But then, while job opportunities will expand, inflation would certainly accelerate. The prospect would be for a price gallop unsurpassed since World War II.

In a recent book (*Marx, Marshall, and Modern Times*) the former president of the University of California, Clark Kerr, describes modern America as composed of a multitude of competing interest groups, each with varying degrees of monopoly control or coercive power in its own sphere of influence. In economic terms, each of the interest groups struggles incessantly to maintain or expand its share of the national income. That means an alertness to lift prices, wages, salaries, interest charges, commissions, fees, at every opportunity. That in turn implies inflation, and a species of inflation that cannot be turned off simply by creating a temporary drop in demand and a spate of unemployment.

The condition requires additional techniques, including a deliberate, explicitly stated governmental policy toward incomes. I go beyond mere Presidential exhortation or “jawboning” here—at least as practiced in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations—because that policy has definite limitations that must be conceded to its critics. As practiced, jawboning was too rigid. It set a single standard for wages and prices in all industries—the overall annual increase in the nation’s productivity—making no allowances for special conditions of demand or supply that might justify deviations. It was also too capricious. Presidential arm-twisting was reserved for the most conspicuous corporations and unions. Other business concerns and workers, not to mention professionals, executives and other groups in society, were permitted to follow their own interests freely, the public be damned as it often was. Even so, despite its faults, jawboning had some slight moderating influence on prices, and an imperfect policy of this kind would be better than none at all.

Under jawboning, three harried members of the Council of Economic Advisers were asked, as a sideline, to watch the nation’s prices and wages. That’s a fulltime job, not for three men but for a full-fledged National Incomes Board, with well-staffed regional and occupational branches around the country. Under jawboning, the President attempted to impose his judgment (or the Council’s) on industries and workers. I would place, on each division of an incomes board, representatives of the industries or occupations being

supervised or examined. Decisions that were jointly reached, in this way, would have a better chance for public support and adherence.

Of course I don't believe that any single government agency could, or should be asked to, keep track of every price and income in the economy. But it could, sensibly, be asked to attend the trouble spots – to seek them out on its own and to welcome public complaints in locating them. Specifically, the objectives of the National Incomes Board would be to (1) discover and disclose to the public any prices, wages, salaries, fees, or other types of income that in a pronounced, unjustifiable and inflationary way get out of line with those of the rest of the country and (2) explore means for correcting such aberrations through persuasion, mediation, arbitration, informal regulatory decisions, and appropriate use of publicity.

If prices in an industry are increased substantially even though costs and demand are unchanged, or actually falling, and unused capacity is abundant, then that increase is unjustifiable and inflationary. (Note recent price increases in steel, copper, aluminum, and a number of service and manufacturing industries.)

If wages are boosted sharply for a trade in which job opportunities are declining, and unemployment is already greater than average, then that increase is also unjustifiable and inflationary. (Watch present negotiations on the auto workers' contract and others in the offing.)

If the fees of physicians and surgeons are rising spectacularly because spurious obstacles bar the way for training a sufficient number of men and women as doctors, then that rise is unjustifiable and inflationary – though in this instance the long-run cure is the difficult one of removing the obstacles.

Branch or divisional units of the National Incomes Board would intervene in such cases – not in a quixotic effort to keep prices and wages artificially fixed, but to counter the monopolistic pressures that have kept them moving constantly on a one-way street – upward. The modest variations necessary to equate demand and supply, competitively, would be encouraged. When intervening, government officials would confer with the parties involved, sift evidence, reach decisions, and in cases of disagreement refer disputes to the central board in Washington. When inflationary behavior persisted, despite conferences and persuasion, publicity would be used to mobilize public pressure and to set the stage for arbitration proceedings.

As a counterpoise to the public influence of vested interests, the National Incomes Board could also help to check inflationary practices and policies in government. For example, it would interpose the consumer's point of view, typically neglected, in the formulation of international trade agreements, tariffs, import quotas, and the public regulations that now restrict the

domestic output, or raise the prices, of petroleum, milk, tobacco, grains and cotton.

It is difficult to see how a board of this kind could avoid making some substantial contribution to price stability – and any contribution under present circumstances ought to be welcomed. Insofar as the board, which would lack mandatory powers, can succeed in substituting motives of service and quality in the business system, in place of grab and greed, it may have a moral contribution to make as well. Even so, brief account must be taken of two frequent objections.

The first is the traditional contention, the darling of Milton Friedman and his followers, that the government has no rightful place intervening in the operations of the market. In a modern setting this has a hollow ring. The government at present intervenes on a grand scale – in the setting of government salaries (affecting nearly 20 percent of the labor force), in its influence on utility rates, in agricultural and foreign trade policies, in transportation, communication, in the huge buying and selling operations of the Defense Department, and in a variety of other ways. The real question is whether these policies should be coordinated, extended and directed in a systematic way toward stabilizing the economy and advancing the public interest.

Finally, and with a triumphant gleam, writers such as Edwin L. Dale Jr. ("Jawboning's a Joke," NR April 18) claim that informal as well as formal government price and wage controls have been tried and found wanting in Western Europe. They may claim so – but would have a devil of a time proving it. Many European democracies have had what they call "incomes policies," and still have them. In general, they have had inflations as severe as ours, or more so. But they have also had significantly less unemployment and more rapid economic growth.

The paramount point made here is that informal government controls on prices, wages and other incomes would help significantly, under almost any circumstances, and there seems to be growing support in Congress and elsewhere for this proposition. The Democratic majority as well as a Republican minority endorsed such government intervention in the recent annual report of the Joint Economic Committee, though they differed on how it should be done. Just last week, in another split within the Administration, Arthur Burns and Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney conceded the need for some kind of official but informal restraint on prices and wages. The energetic and imaginative senator from Oklahoma, Fred Harris, has already prepared a bill for establishing an "incomes equity" board based in considerable part on the version described above. If present economic policies prove as unsuccessful as they now appear to be, the chances for passage of a bill along these lines will look better and better.

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Getting Straight

(Columbia)

Leo the Last

(United Artists)

The Out-of-Towners

(Paramount)

Getting Straight is a very ambitious film that is too small for its britches. It wants nothing less than to deal with the educational crisis, the student crisis (not precisely the same), the racial crisis, the generation gap, the draft, Vietnam, drugs, relations between the sexes, and sexual relations. The screenplay by Robert Kaufman, from a novel by Ken Kolb, scurries after all these matters on one of the busiest shopping tours in recent films. Of course, no film about university life today could easily avoid at least some of these subjects, and *Getting Straight* touches at least some note of truth in every one of them, but its movie-type cleverness and its perspiration as it hurries after *everything* reduce the impact of the best in it.

If this picture hasn't already been nicknamed *The Postgraduate*, it will be, and the joke is justified—although it has nothing like the virtues of *The Graduate*—because it proves yet again that Nichols's film was a milestone in US film history: *Getting Straight* traces its pedigree all the way back through those three long years to Nichols. The postgraduate himself is Elliott Gould, returned to a Western university six years after he got his B.A.—having spent some of the interim in Vietnam and some just copping out—to get his M.A. and teach in high school. He means to get "straight," to join up and join in, but he ends up, after some fury at the blindness of the Establishment, by joining the student dissenters.

The first few minutes tell us, in stock vignette style, that Gould is a Big

Man on campus, everybody's friend, on top of every situation and a great many girls. He is humane, broke, sincere, intelligent, hard-working, fiery, sexually gymnastic, undeluded, idealistic, and witty. Burne-Jones would not have dared to paint Galahad in pre-Raphaelite light the way this film paints the mod Gould. He commits only one mistake in the story—a fraud, allowing a friend to take an exam for him and forge his name—and even that is so egregiously dumb that we know it was planted by the scriptwriter just to provide one personal flaw and a plot complication.

There are intellectual sentimentalities: Gould, as a practice teacher, tells a slow student who reads *Batman* that this is great because it leads to *Don Quixote*. There are structural pangs: the quarrels between Gould and his "real" girl, Candice Bergen, pump away in the script like an artificial heart. (The two finally come together in the middle of a wildly destructive student riot—like any old fade-out clinch that made a quiet oasis in the middle of a storm or a battle.) There are dreadful gags: some mechanical stuff with Gould's battered car. There is factual silliness: the liberal university president is gleeful about "revolutionary" concessions he has wrung from his trustees, concessions that would have seemed outdated in 1965. (Not that there aren't reactionary campuses still, but those that are liberal are far more liberal than this president's program.)

Still the film has some bite—particularly in a few of Gould's outbursts about the blindness of the Establishment and the need for revised values. Some real bite. Enough so that this picture raises questions that are bigger than its treatment of them. *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (for instance) was too stupid to make us think about its subject: *Getting Straight* is just intelligent enough to make us think of what it's about: the function of the university, its relation to the festering world that supports it, its relation to the students whose response to the university's education is to quarrel with the university—basically, questions that have been troubling our world in the hundred years beginning with Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*. Culture is still connected to the evils that induce the rage to anarchy, and now the potential anarchists come from among the cultivated. It is an

old joke about Americans that we think every question must have an answer, but we seem to be learning otherwise in these matters. More and more it seems that the best way to deal with these questions is simply to bear them constantly in mind, to deal with them on the best possible day-to-day empirical basis, and to hope that the shape of one's psyche and intent will eventually shape a pattern—though not an Answer.

Getting Straight at least dramatizes—or cinematizes—some of the relevant evidence. Richard Rush, who has made films previously but whose work is new to me, has directed at about the level of Peerce's *Goodbye, Columbus*: lots of physical closeness, juicy color, fast cutting, and multi-plane composition. With this latter, he vastly overuses the device of shifting camera focus in the middle of a shot—a foreground figure becoming misty as a background figure becomes clear, or vice versa; and his sense of bustle seems to invade even the quiet scenes. His film is much more exploitative than committed, but some of the exploitation—like a student battle with cops—is well handled. Laszlo Kovacs, who has worked with Rush before and who also did *Easy Rider*, supplies good post-*Red Desert* photography.

Elliott Gould's forte is comic composure and, within it, the Feiffer-like cartooning he can do with inflections and pauses. He gets little chance for it here; he seems to be shouting and "energizing" a good deal of the time. He's solid and pleasant enough, but better in roles like the doctor in *M*A*S*H*. Candice Bergen, presumably whipped along by Rush, tries hard for volatility, but there is a band of deadness across her eyes and a residual flatness in her voice that make her seem stolid in the midst of rage. And I have rarely seen so pretty a girl with so little sex appeal. I think it's her basically unconvincing acting that gets in the way. Professional sex-pots like Raquel Welch don't pretend, in their roles, to much credibility: their performances are meant as quasi jokes. Miss Bergen's is not, and its dullness affects her appeal as a girl.

Leo the Last is Marcello Mastroianni's first English-language film, and he should have stayed home. He is utterly wasted. It's about an exiled king living in London who gets involved, by

(Continued on page 31)

Peter Caws: On to The Constructive Stage

New Reformation, Notes of a Neolithic Conservative by Paul Goodman

(Random House; \$5.95)

It must be said of Paul Goodman, after reading this admirably readable and rational book, that he has managed to keep his head in times of alarm, and to avoid the panic and despair into which so many others are falling. He has done so in part because of an ability to get outside the society through his considerable although unsystematic learning, and to conceive of alternatives to it through the fertility of his social imagination. The brilliant but rather casually exploited analogy of the book's title invites the reader to compare the present crisis with the one that confronted western European intellectuals in the early sixteenth century.

Then the Establishment was theological, now it is scientific and technological; then as now the temptation was to come to terms with it, to acquiesce in its corruption and cynicism; then as now the really serious challenge to it came from within. "Everywhere there is protest, conflict, disgust with the Establishment," says Goodman, describing the atmosphere of 1510. "The protest is international. There is a generation gap. We must recall that Luther himself was all of thirty when he posted the Theses in 1517. Melancthon was twenty, Bucer twenty-six, Munzer twenty-eight, Jonas twenty-four. The Movement consisted of undergraduates and junior faculty."

The point at which the analogy operates, as Goodman is careful to point out, is in fact 1510 rather than 1517: Luther is in Rome, observing the decadence of the Church, not yet back in Wittenberg preparing for open revolt. The question is how we turn our 1510 into 1517, whether indeed we can do so, what form the effective forces for change will take. For although in the aftermath of Kent State the temporal powers seem finally to have been stung into recognition of a problem, still we are far from being engaged at the

level where fundamental change is likely to occur. If in 1510 a mass movement of choirboys and acolytes had set fire to the Lady Chapel and thrown rocks at the stained glass windows Rome too might have stirred, but it is not clear that there would have been a Reformation.

Reformation, not revolution; the economic and political institutions of the time, while profoundly affected, came through almost unscathed in comparison with the dominant intellectual and moral institution, the Church. Our radicals rather despise the notion of reform, and yet it is surely not accidental that they have chosen the one viable intellectual and moral institution we have, the university, as the first target of their anger. As Daniel Bell was fond of pointing out a few years ago, the university is the lineal descendant, in our own society, of the church and also to some extent of the family; and it may be the case that if there really were a basic reform of the university

(and of the rest of the educational system along with it), with all it would imply in terms of changed sensibilities and priorities, political revolution would be unnecessary. Luther himself used the University of Wittenberg as his base of operations throughout the period of the Reformation, but then there was another institution to attack. One of our problems is to find the university from which the university can be convinced and corrected.

Goodman freely admits that he doesn't know how to get to 1517, let alone to 1530 (when the Augsburg Confession indicated more or less the path Protestantism was to follow). "I do not have the character for politics," he says. But he goes further than most other people in the direction that must be taken if society is to be changed without being destroyed. It seems to me that there are two complementary movements in the process of reform, the relations between which are critical: what may be called a descending

One Moment in Eternity

Before Our Lady's on Des Peres Boulevard
On a brilliant Sunday morning in December

Is drawn up, idling and breathing smoke,
A sparkling maroon and black Cadillac
Hearse having a heavy silver crucifix
In each side window and in raised relief
The name Boomgartner Funerals scrawled out
In cursive silver script across
The front doors and the back; all this

Inspected by two altar-boys, admiringly:
"Jeezus!" says one, and "Jeezus!" agrees the other.

Implacably, pretending oblivion,
The liveried black chauffeur stares ahead
Along the hood, sighting between the up-
spreading wings of a silver angel taking off.

HOWARD NEMEROV

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movement from awareness of the trouble, through criticism of the system, to its total rejection; and what may be called an ascending movement from speculation about alternatives, through construction in detail of possible programs, to the evangelical promulgation of one such program as a basis for common agreement about the new order.

It has become habitual for young and radical to race through the descending movement, and emerge at the bottom ready to tear the place apart without having started to think at all hard about what follows. Whether with such downward momentum the ascent can be begun at all is questionable. The ideal point at which to swing over is at the second or critical stage, and that is where Goodman is, so that on the other side he is already progressing from the stage of speculation to the stage of construction.

The kinds of proposal put forward in this book are familiar from earlier writings. Some of the overlap is deliberate; as Goodman remarks, one of the weaknesses of the society is the absence of a steady readership for serious books (because there are too few serious readers? or because there are too many serious books?—no doubt both), so that positions have to be reestablished each time. Goodman is an anarchist, prepared at almost every point to replace the large and bureaucratic with the small and human. Some of his devices for doing this have the marks of genius; they are not all original with him, but they have a simplicity and consistency that make the improbability of their implementation all the more regrettable. "To revive family practice, maybe the right idea is to offer a doctor a splendid suite in a public housing project." His proposals for the decentralization of schools include the mini-school of about twenty-eight children and four teachers—one a teacher of the usual kind, one a college senior, one a housewife, and one a high-school graduate or dropout—administered largely by the teachers and parents, and occupying a few rooms in existing schools or churches or settlement houses. The setting for this agreeable fantasy is New York; and just the idea of the consequent elimination of Livingston Street, the Medusa's head of the New York school bureaucracy, practically brings tears of gratitude to the eyes. "Politically, however, such a solution is unlikely,

since it threatens both vested interests and popular prejudices."

Well, the other reformation threatened vested interests and popular prejudices too, but it happened anyway. And this brings me back to the third constructive stage in the process of reform, the stage where evangelism takes over and the power of the people (which they already have and don't, as the slogan suggests, have to be given—it is all a question, as Marx correctly saw, of making it self-aware and coherent) begins to make itself felt. That is what the youth movement might be an anticipation of, if it could shift to the constructive mode. It is characteristic of evangelical movements that they look forward in real time, on several levels—the level of personal conversion, the level of social organization, the level of history or eschatology. Goodman looks backward a good deal; he shows up in this book as a "neolithic conservative" because while he doesn't want to go back to an untamed nature he does want to preserve "existing community bonds" in some form recognizably related to the ones that have obtained since the beginnings of communal civilization. Collectivization is inevitable, but it must not be allowed to replace altogether what has made our family and city life human and tolerable. When the whole edifice shakes, a conservatism of this kind comes out in a lot of us. So Goodman argues for a "more judicious mixture" of socialism and the free market, for example, rather than a swallowing up of one by the other.

Also he looks around, and with a keen eye. But he doesn't see very far forward, and gives the impression of not looking terribly hard. Looking forward in this context is not the same as predicting; it has more to do with hoping and fearing, and it is natural for the older to have less passion about it than the young. And there is an extension of Goodman's own analogy that has struck me in this connection, namely that just as attention to the practical content of Christian doctrine as it affected the individual, rather than to its academic content as debated in the Church councils, must have impressed the younger generation of the sixteenth century with a sense of immediate or at any rate proximate doom or joy—the Last Judgment if not the Second Coming—so the practical content of science impresses the current

generation. A lot of them seriously believe that they won't live ten years, because of a conviction that nuclear war will not be averted; and that issue aside, they have heard enough speculation, informed or ignorant, about the exhaustion of power resources, the poisoning of the environment, the failure of population control, to make genuine uncertainty about the future a daily experience. It is mainly in the young that this experience is likely to lead to action, because for most people eschatological considerations only count if they threaten to interfere with the normal course of life. Philip Gosse, the English fundamentalist, died in a state of annoyance that the second coming had not happened during his lifetime, and no doubt a good many of our contemporaries die in a state of

relief that they have made it to a natural end before the holocaust.

This lively sense of the imminent is just another reason for the mood of the present generation, and another reason for understanding it rather than reacting in anger or fear or both. Goodman is particularly good at understanding, although in this book he enters a plea to be understood in his turn. He describes *New Reformation* as "rather sour on the American young," because after all they turn out to be human and to have the usual human weaknesses in addition to the special ones of intolerance, ignorance of history, and so on. (They look backward even less than Goodman looks forward.) Still up to this point they have managed to preserve a comparative innocence. "It is overwhelmingly clear that

the vast majority of young people, white and black, have opted against violence in any important sense." Established adults, particularly faculty members, tend to view what has been happening in the colleges as a revival of the Terror, and to hear the tumbrils rolling, but a thirty-second volley from the National Guard has put all that in perspective. The innocence may not last, although it is probably helped by the ineptitude at chemistry of some of the radicals making bombs—another indictment of general education.

If it is to last, it had better find channels soon. The turning to Congress that is now taking place may be a hopeful sign; what else has Goodman to offer? Very little—but it has already been noted that leadership is not his chosen role. This cannot be said as criticism, indeed nothing really works as criticism against a book in which the author disarmingly lists the things people say are wrong with his writing and says, in effect, that they are all true or at least understandable. If this book has a weakness, it is that it was underwritten—bits and pieces from other speeches have been stuck in, the notes at the end really are notes, tacked on pretty much in raw form—and also perhaps that Goodman commits some of the errors he accuses the young of committing. With the exception of his son, Mathew, who was killed a few years ago, his treatment of the young is like their treatment of the old, and has a flavor of class stereotypes. They can't imagine that the men in power are really human, says Goodman; he can't either. (It is difficult.)

But the analogy is worth the price. Goodman begins with the movement of March 4, 1969 at M.I.T., when the scientists—the monks of our technocracy—held an antiwar and anti-Establishment teach-in. He is encouraged by the emergence of young professionals in law, medicine and so on, committed to the beliefs and ends he has been committed to. It is worth remembering that Luther was a priest, ordained and functioning within the system; not above using public sentiment or the enthusiasm of the young, even to the public burning of books (something we haven't yet seen this time around), but fighting his battle as far as possible within the constitutional framework of his day. McCarthy almost, but not quite, filled the role. When a successor appears, he will have plenty of followers.

Two Poems of Abandonment

(to Libbie, who cleared out)

I-Genius Loci

Until you died, my Love,
somehow I had belief in fear of ghosts.
But now, in this lonely place
that is so full of you
whereby I am not in my essence over-
lonesome,

what lovelier
than if your spirit,
the genius of this house,
did materialize right here before me?

Dear Love,
always I tried to earn you,
but now you are the absolutely given

while I each night
lie conscious

of my loss

II-Postlude

When something goes, some other
takes its place.

Maybe a thistle where had been a rose;
or where lace was, next time a church-
man's missal.

Erase, efface (Life says) when some-
thing goes.

Her death leaves such a tangled after-
growth,
by God I fear I have outlived us both.

KENNETH BURKE

Television

Distracted to Distraction

William Buckley is our prime exhibitionist of argument. Watching him lose a couple of rounds recently, I decided that he was not losing his skill, but confronting persons with no interest in debating. For example, he tried desperately to extract a specific (and ludicrous) meaning for "fascism" from a radical lawyer, and thought he had succeeded at the moment when he conned the lawyer into likening fascism to absolute monarchy. But no. Neither audience nor lawyer knew lawyer had been bested. What kind of victory is that? Nor could lawyer be pinned down to specific events or occasions, though such focus is of the essence of argument. He kept slipping out of the channels of argument that Buckley, with sportive malice, tried to set up.

I will not weep for Buckley; but if Buckley can't route a discussion into channels nobody, whether judge or

TV clown, can. He is a master of the *sequitur* as well as the *non sequitur* (he once trounced a liberal, who was trying to erase Buckley's own loaded definitions of liberalism, by saying, "I can understand your wanting to disown Mrs. Roosevelt"), whose showmanship is now aggravated by his new establishment role. If argument as a genre is failing him, then argument is failing period. It is being replaced by nonnegotiable chatter.

Essentially the nonnegotiable is something beyond argument; it is what happens when argument fails. Argument depends upon a community of minds, plus a common intent to find the truth. Two persons can't begin to disagree on a particular issue, in the way argument asks them to, unless they already agree on major premises beyond the particular issue—or recognize the possible justice of alternative premises. Arguments went well in

classical Greece because Athens was a small town and everybody (that is to say the "elite," *pace* Agnew) shared a common way of looking at things. For the Athenian to reckon with someone beyond his group was for him to enter the realm of the nonnegotiable. But we as a nation have no trouble entering that realm; we live there, where the representatives of order are "pigs."

On TV we have a variety of non-negotiable items, some produced by the medium itself, and some by this more serious condition. The disorderliness of questions at a Presidential news (non) conference is medium bred, as are questions on quiz shows—in these cases the medium forces President and quiz contestant alike to put up with rapid fire miscellany rather than coherence. Then there are commercials, which have never been negotiable; they have conditioned us to expect distraction every few minutes. There is also Laugh-in.

But there are many shows even on commercial TV with an orderly design. Athletic events, westerns, all manner of light and heavy fiction have the aim of organizing our jumbled thoughts infinitesimally for a brief period.

Then there are the "specials" on particular topics, like hunger, housing, violence. Above all there are the heady Sunday shows, the pride of the networks, where we get away from razzmatazz and down to serious discussion. Or do we? No, it is on these where we see again the larger trouble that Buckley faced.

On both *Face the Nation* (CBS) and *Meet the Press* (NBC) the participants are ruled partly by "next question" urgencies, but they also are there to be reasonable. A double thread runs through the programs: to get on, but also to thrash out. Unfortunately, the thrashings are regularly subverted by journalists whose need is not to thrash out but to trip up; that is, to push distinguished visitors to say what will make the Monday morning front pages.

Two weeks ago on *Face the Nation* James Moffett—Nixon's youth man who resigned during Cambodia week—and Charles Palmer, President of the National Student Association, were grilled with hostile flypaper questions from reporters I would have supposed friendly (for example, on student violence: "do you want Spiro to be the



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next President?") And last week on the same program Senator Mansfield, surrounded by what again looked like friendly faces, parried several dirty questions a minute about the various antiwar "operations purse-strings" of the Senate: "Isn't this an academic exercise?" "Does a *trustworthy* President need this kind of persuasion?" "The communists should be allowed to have all of Southeast Asia?" With Mansfield, as with Moffett and Palmer, the questioners' tricks were unsuccessful. All three men kept their cool in a rough game (assuming that Mansfield actually went to the studio planning to support the McGovern-Hatfield resolution). The game, particularly for Moffett and Mansfield, was not to be caught directly damning President Nixon (both were kind to him; neither would rise to leading questions suggesting his foolishness or guile).

Similarly, two weeks ago on *Meet the Press*, Spivak and company went after Ambassador Bunker, to catch him off guard on Vietnamization and Cambodia (he was miffed but his old-fashioned, deliberate rhetoric stayed with him); and last week they went after young Republican Senator Packwood from Oregon—to get him to peach on Nixon (Spivak: "do you believe we have a crisis in leadership?"—so Packwood went to talking about leadership in Congress).

It's an old game, celebrity-baiting, and at the moment it seems a worthy one, perhaps because everybody has already been baited and hooked by Cambodia. Yet in the larger context I began with—the holy country of rational discussion—the game is scary; it is more evidence that argument, the genre of settlement, is dying. From now on we go head hunting. Not that these programs have done it to us; they are being done to, too.

Sedulus

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PETER CAWS is Professor of Philosophy at Hunter College of the City University of New York. The most recent book by HOWARD NEMEROV, of Washington University, is *The Blue Swallows*. KENNETH BURKE will spend a year at Washington University in St. Louis, starting in the fall.

Correspondence

Staying Alive

Sirs:

In response to your article (May 16), "Staying Alive Until 1973," I'd like to tell you some of the things that are happening on the University of California Riverside, campus.

From May 7 through May 10 classes on all state university campuses in Cali-

fornia were suspended by order of Governor Reagan. Students and faculty here at UCR had already begun to organize a canvassing drive to go out into the Riverside community and talk to people about the recent Cambodia incident, and took advantage of the shutdown to organize committees, training sessions, and canvassing on a large scale. At present we have a large center of operations in our university commons, including a research center, information tables where printed matter is available, blackboards where the most recent events around the state

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and around the nation are posted, and four training sessions a day presenting facts on Southeast Asia, for those who plan to canvass in the community. The movement has grown from an isolated drive against Nixon and his Cambodia policy to a movement which includes work on various other problems that this country faces. A table has been set up with information on ecology, some are sponsoring a food drive to help a breakfast and lunch program for children, and a group is currently being formed to study and offer teach-ins on racism (the latter was considerably encouraged by Lester Maddox's fiasco in Augusta, Georgia, on May 11). Students from UCR are traveling to other schools to let other students know

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what we are doing and to encourage them to start similar movements on their campuses and in their communities, while representatives from several campuses (including the University of Redlands and colleges in Pomona and San Bernardino) have come here to observe our operations and to organize and begin canvassing.

In our canvassing of Riverside we are emphasizing contact with people, and hope by this method to not only stimulate some lasting interest in this country's Southeast Asian policy, but also to prevent any further alienation of the general population from a student body which many of them consider revolutionary and destructive. People are encouraged to write letters and send telegrams to the President and to congressmen, and as of last week, we had collected over 30,000 signatures on a petition urging immediate withdrawal of US troops from Southeast Asia (total population of Riverside is probably around 130,000). We are also setting up tables in front of banks and shopping centers, and have in general encountered very favorable responses from bank executives and merchants.

Of course there are still major problems to be overcome. On May 12, the UCR Academic Senate passed a resolution enabling students to take all courses on a pass-fail basis, in order to give those who so desire more time to engage in the political happenings. This action dissolved the difficulties that many students, who are working 15 or 20 hours a day for this cause, would face if a strict competition for grades were maintained. Nevertheless, our cherished governor, in a few short days, has changed his rhetoric from disapproval of violent student protesters to denunciation of all dissenters. He has denounced the relaxed attitude of faculty members and the actions taken by our Academic Senate as well as others throughout the state, and has advised that any students participating in this movement should drop out of school.

The primary problem we face, however, is maintaining support from students and in the community. So far, the result is encouraging; new students come to our tables every day to get more information, the training sessions are still well attended, and people are continuing to canvass. It is essential to gain a broad base of popular support in the community in order to prevent a six-week military jaunt into some

other Southeastern Asian country and to bring our troops home. Demonstrations are no longer effective, but serve to further polarize our communities; by relating to people in Riverside we hope to convince them that our interests are their interests too.

Wendy Garling
Riverside, Calif.

Sirs:

Your editorial ("Staying Alive until 1973") is the most senseless thing I have ever read. You sound as though this great nation is about ready to blow up. You must be really isolated in your ivory tower. This nation is not about ready to collapse just because you say so. The President has only done the right thing which should have been done a long time ago. I think that you misjudge the American people. They don't support your line of thinking, rather they support the President. There are thousands of us who fought the war in Vietnam, and I, for one, think it is about time our President got tough with the VC. Why don't you wake up to the real world. I thank God for a President who has guts to do the necessary thing.

Caleb H. Johnson, CH (Maj) US Army
Office of the Chaplain, Lawton, Okla.

Sirs:

On page 8 of the May 16 issue of *The New Republic* is printed: "The bomb and bottle throwers are the allies of the President in their common reliance on violence. Protest is essential, but nothing worthwhile can be won by smashing windows or burning buildings." I, as a Christian pacifist agree especially the last sentence. However, this implies that such destruction at home is primarily the tactics of the protesters. In the early hours of May 11 and 12, I witnessed the most truculent violence I have ever seen committed by the Boston Police against private property and students of Berklee College of Music and Northeastern University.

The event began to unfold around midnight when Boston's Tactical Patrol Force (TPF) arrived on Hemenway Street to break up a volatile "block-party" of several hundred youth. This was the fourth night such parties had "occurred" and the second night riot squads had been used. The first two

evenings police had blocked the street from vehicular traffic and there were no confrontations.

As I watched from my darkened window the riot squad organized a wedge in front of the police car barricade and, evidently at a signal, all charged down the street flanked by snarling police dogs. I saw them regroup and charge three times. The attitude the officers seemed to have was one of enjoyment, much like the spirit when my high-school football team played their "meanest" rival in Scotia, Nebraska. The man who lives next door to me reports hearing one officer say—"That was fun"—on the way back to reorganize for another "charge"; that was just before the officer broke a window with his riot stick.

Two Berklee students were watching the excitement from the fourth floor of a Symphony Road apartment house when a riot officer yelled, while pointing his pistol at them—"Get your fucking head inside the window before I blow it off." The students said they had not thrown anything at the officers or hollered at them. Another student was on his way back to the Berklee dormitory in a taxicab, the driver of which was a Negro. As the car pulled up to the barricade to let his fare out an officer—again in riot gear—came over and said: "Quit gawking you black bastard or I'll beat your head."

Perhaps the most appalling case is that of an elderly Greek couple who live on an upper floor of a Hemenway Street apartment house. The police beat on the door and when his wife came to see what the problem was they broke through the door and knocked the lady across the room. All of the elderly people I visited with were afraid to open their doors wider than the chain locks would allow; most apologized for this seeming mistrust, but they feared the police.

What happened on Hemenway Street was not totally one-sided with all the blame belonging to the police. The youth *were* blocking traffic on the street (which is not a through street), and they *were* yelling obscenities at the police (who did not hesitate to yell them back), and they were keeping a few (very few because most of the residents of the area are students) persons awake at night. But does this warrant the response it got from the Boston Police?

Rev. James A. Stillman
Boston, Mass.

Academic Recession

Sirs:

I am unhappy about the suggestion of Professors Landers and Cicarelli ("Academic Recession," NR, May 9, 1970) that "The true measure of the effectiveness of the higher education system is the extent to which it helps society to deal with its basic problems: pollution, war, poverty." In 20 years of college teaching I have supposed myself to be concerned with assorted varieties of ignorance, bigotry, and muddleheadedness, including my own. I am quite sure that pollution, war, and poverty, basic human problems indeed, do not include many of our most grievous ills. Were those problems removed, we would still have loneliness, madness, crime, disease, the frustrations of our dreams, and racism, the incapacity or unwillingness to imagine another person's situation.

Only harm to our schools can result from trying to regulate what we study by the apparent or presumed practical consequences of those studies. "There is no science," Newman says, "but tells a different tale, when viewed as a portion of a whole, from what it is likely to suggest when taken by itself, with the safeguard, as I may call it, of others." As our knowledge of the whole is extended so is the likelihood reduced of our embracing it all. Darwin reminds us of the difficulty we would have in giving "to any one species an advantage over another. Probably in no single instance would we know what to do. This ought to convince us of our ignorance on the mutual relations of all organic beings—a conviction as necessary as it is difficult to acquire."

We would do well to encourage a like conviction about our knowledge in general, and not to encourage easy judgments about relative relevancies.

George Herman
Reno, Nev.

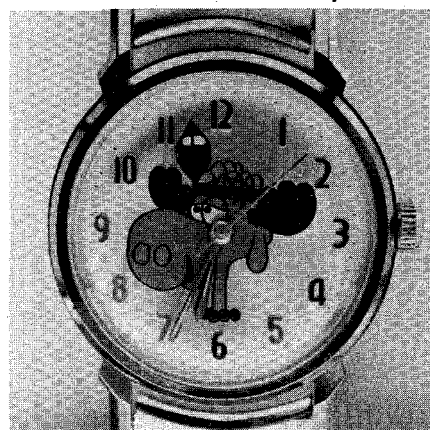
Kauffmann, from page 24

watching through a telescope, in the lives of poor blacks down the street. It might have made a good old-fashioned romance in the vein of George Arliss's *The Man Who Played God* (1931), but John Boorman, the director, was so intent on encrusting Leo

with up-to-date arty paraphernalia, including an echoing, Eliot-quoting soundtrack, that the film soon disappears in a miasma of pretense, only to be disclosed again by some ludicrously lucid and didactic melodrama at the end.

The Out-of-Towners was written by Neil Simon and, except that it doesn't have many funny lines, it is typical of him: an interesting idea but insufficient stamina or honesty to see it through. Jack Lemmon and Sandy Dennis are an Ohio couple who go to New York where he is to be interviewed for an important New York job. En route they have a series of mishaps: their plane has to circle for two hours over La Guardia, then has to land in Boston, their luggage is lost, and so on. Up to this point, it is not as amusing as Simon and the director, Arthur Hiller, ought to have made it, but it has some ring of irritating truth. We have all had the feeling, more than once, that modern society and technology are in conspiracy against our getting through the day in relative sanity. But Simon could not stay with

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this idea. When the couple finally reach New York, he begins to tack on farcical inventions—gaggy contrivances that work against his theme, which had been commonplace, *every-day* farce.

Lemmon does less overacting than he has been guilty of lately; occasionally there are flashes of his former exquisite farcical talent. Miss Dennis is at her best—which is to say, tolerable. The ending is specious, but the real criticism of it does not come from me. The couple finally decide to decline the job in hostile New York and return to the peace and friendliness of Ohio. I saw this film—word of honor—on the night that the news came from Kent State.

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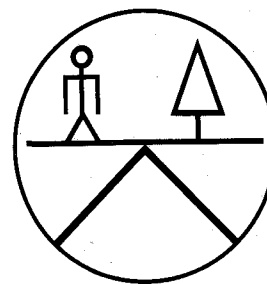
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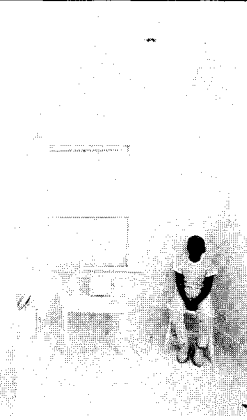
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